4: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1925
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

161 blood, and there is no accurate estimate of the numbers belonging to the different tribes. The Swartbooie, whom I visited in 1923, numbered a little over 200. The Rooi Natie cannot count 100 adherents, while the Berseba Hottentots now claim over 3000 adherents. Most of the Hottentots are, as a matter of fact, scattered about over the length and breadth of the country among the farmers and have no longer any tribal allegiance, for it was the deliberate policy of the German government to break up the tribes.

619 361 The present administration has set aside certain reserves for the remnants of the Hottentots. Three of these reserves are already established, viz., a large one for the Berseba Hottentots, a smaller one for the Bondelswarts, and a small one for the Swartbooie in Franzfontein; and besides these there are some farms which have been given to small remnants of other tribes. In addition, a number of Hottentots of various tribes are to-day to be found in the territory of the Rehoboth Bastards, while one tribe, the *!Khwa Gei Khoin*, slipped across the border into British territory during the German-Hottentot war. The few survivors of this tribe are wandering to-day in the southern Kalahari. I have never come in contact with any members of this tribe.

178 It is obvious that the culture of a people so much harassed has suffered very greatly. It is, in fact, in the last stages of decay. After the rebellions against the Germans, the tribes were not allowed to keep "great stock," i.e., cattle, and only a limited number of sheep and goats, so that the old pastoral life fell more and more into decay. The people all claim to be Christians, and the influence of the Dutch, with whom they have long been in contact, can be traced in all of their institutions, even in their kinship system.

128 The social organization which I am about to describe, therefore, relates almost entirely to the past. The details of it have been gathered with great difficulty from the old headmen of the tribes, and much of it is little known to most of the younger generation.

624 614 If we study what I have called a tribe more closely, we shall find that in all cases it is composed of a number of patrilineal sibs,

4: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1925
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

that is, of groups of people claiming to be related in the male line; and that one of these sibs claims seniority. The chieftainship is hereditary in this senior sib and is inherited in the male line. In some cases I have been given traditions of the formation of the tribe, the various sibs claiming relationship with one another in the far distant past, but in no case has it been possible to trace this relationship genealogically. Each sib names itself eponymously from its first known ancestor, or from the ancestor under whom it first claimed independence. The Nama themselves recognise these divisions into tribes and sibs, the tribe being called *!Haos*, and the sibs *!Haos !Nati*, that is, things within the tribe (*!haos*, tribe; *hos*, preposition in, turned into a noun by the suffix *s* for the singular or *si* for the plural).

The sibs of the Swartbooi tribe are as follows: */Gari Goin; /Gari !Nagoman; /Gari ≠Karin; //Naigoman; Gaoman; Karaoan; //Khaw Tamaan; /Ga oi Tamaan; !Naisa oin; /Oa Gaon.* Two of these sibs are formed by people who were incorporated in the Swartbooi tribe after the break-up of the Great Doode tribe who at one time lived near the Swartbooia. (The old headquarters of the Swartbooi tribe were at Rehoboth. The tribe fled from there during the Africaner war with the Herero, and fought its way northwards to Franfontein during the eighties of last century.)

Of the other sibs it will be noticed that three among them have the same name, */Gari*. The name */Gari* is still found among the Nama as a name of a person. The sibs are the big (*Goin*) */Gari-a*, the next (*!Nagoman*) */Gari-a*, and the little (*≠Karin*) */Gari-a*. Now, it is the Hottentot custom for all sons of a woman to have her name, and they are distinguished from one another by just the epithets used here, the eldest being called the big one (*goiti*), the second the next one (*!nagomaiti*), the third the dark one (*≠naiti*) or the light one (*/haiti*) or the tall one (*garaiti*), and so on, while the youngest will be called the little one (*≠kariti*) or the young one (*≠amiti*).

The legend of the Swartbooia themselves is that they separated from the *Gei //Khaoan*, the parent tribe, under the leadership of the */Garia* family, and that the three leaders became the ancestors of the three chief sibs of the tribe. The *//Khaw Tamaan*,

4: Hoerlé E-5 (1912-1913)1925
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

the //Naigomas, and the /Gurasis are said to be also descended from the sisters of these brothers whose husbands remained with the wives' people, instead of taking their wives to their own tribes, or sibs, as is usually done. It is still a Nama custom that a woman should remain with her own people if there is good reason for it, and a woman often marries a man on that understanding. At the same time marriages between members of different tribes were very frequent in the past, and the women of a family might be scattered far and wide over the country after marriage.

When the tribe was first formed, the chieftainship was in the */Gari Goin* sib, as one would expect, but nowadays the chieftainship has passed to the second branch, the */Gari //Naigomas*. According to the headmen of the tribe, who corroborate what the present chief, David Swartbooi, told me, the chieftainship passed from the one sib to the other when the elder branch became almost extinct. There are to-day only two or three people represented in this sib.

There are in all ten chiefs concerning whom I obtained information. The earliest to be remembered is /Khanabib, who is followed in order by Tsamkaw, Tsaugab, Tsaxuab, ≠Aubib, Hoaib, William Swartbooi (Sir James Alexander's friend), then Hoaib's son Habib Abraham Swartbooi, then Habib's son Cornelius Swartbooi /Hoa/arab, then William Swartbooi's youngest son Habib ≠ami, and now the latter's son Hanamub David Swartbooi. David was from 1897 until 1923 a prisoner in Windhoek, owing to supposed intrigues against the Germans, but has now been allowed to go back to his tribe in Franzfontein. He is an old man now, so that his son, Petrus Swartbooi, Hara Goib, has actually been made headman of the tribe by the present Administration.

It is interesting to note that the */Gari //Naigomas* are beginning to drop this name for the sib and to call themselves Tsaxuan, after the chief of that name whom they claim as the first chief to come from their sib. Further, there is a sib being formed from these *Tsaxuas* the members of which call themselves */Ou Goas*, which means the younger branch of the chief's (gaé) sib. They have not taken any other name for themselves as yet, and are

4: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1925
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

not likely to do so as the custom of using Dutch surnames is increasing and the old Nama names are falling into disuse.

There is no name for the families which together go to form a sib. They are also called *!Haw !Nati*. These families to-day have Dutch, or at any rate European, surnames, and though they claim to be blood kinsmen and in former days would not have intermarried, it is not now possible to trace any genealogical connection between these families. All the members of the chief's sib call themselves Swartboois, a name which seems to have been applied in the first instance to William Swartbooi whose Nama name, *Hoiaib*, however, means the root of a special kind of acacia. In the */Gari ≠Kaeis* sib we get the Hendricks as the chief family; in the *!Garanis* sib there are at least four families, the Swartbooi's, Cortaus, Richters, Van der Byls. The *//Neigwan* sib has three families represented to-day, the Davids, the Swartbooi's, the Linders. The *!Oa Gaon* are the Petersens, whilst the Goamun's are represented to-day by the Orlam family, the *//Khow Tonaes* by the Kido and the Branda families, the */Gari Gein* by only one family, the *Matibis*, and the *!Neisi ein* by the Beukes family.

The analysis of the sib structure of this tribe shows, I think, the whole mechanism by which sibs and tribes are formed among the Nama. A large and flourishing family will very often have its own favorite pasturing grounds and be so large as to exclude members of other families or sibs. In course of time they become sufficient unto themselves, and the headman begins to play the part of chief. They arrange their migrations to suit themselves independently of the other members of the tribe, and in course of time are acknowledged to be independent. Then, as the families increase, descendants of the different brothers group themselves together more closely and form sibs and sub-sibs. In this way a new tribe develops from a sib, or a part of a sib, of the parent tribe.

My information is most complete and definite in regard to the Swartbooi's and the Topnaars, but, so far as it goes, the evidence from the other tribes is in complete agreement with the course of development outlined above. The Topnaar tribe is to-day divided into two sections. One of these lives far away to

4: Hoerlé E-5 (1912-1913)1925
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

tee north in the Kaokoveld whither it retired after the defeat of the Hottentots by the Herero in the sixties of last century The other section lives in the dunes around Walvis Bay and in the bed of the Kuiseb river at various places. The people in the north are reduced to a mere handful and those in the south are probably the most miserable of all the remnants of the Nama, though in Sir James Alexander's time they were described as being fine, handsome people.[9] My information about these people was obtained from the daughter of one of the last chiefs, an intelligent old woman, Khaxas, and from some of the headmen of the last recognized chief of the tribe, Piet //Elleb, who had himself died before I visited the tribe in 1912. According to the information of these old people, the tribe originally lived far to the north in the region to which one branch has again retired. When they first came to Walvis Bay, another Nama people, the */Namisan*, were in control, one of the sibs of this people being called the *≠Ai //Kumxie*. These people were completely defeated and the remnant incorporated in the sibs of the newcomers who called themselves *Mu//ses*, so that today no */Namisan* are to be found. The sibs of the *Mu//ses* are the *//Hawaibia Goin; //Hawaibia /Goan;* the *!Nawabes;* the */Ubusan;* and the */Heibia*. There are today very few of these pure *Mu//ses* people left. The Nama population of Walvis Bay consists now of stragglers from all the tribes and of half-breeds of many different nations.

The sibs of the *Goi//Khwan* I have been able to learn from the few old men who still represent this tribe. One of these men, !Goi ep, claims to be the hereditary chief of the people and is so acknowledged by the handful who are left of this once large tribe. Most of the sibs named to me have now no representatives at all. The rest are represented by a few individuals. It is impossible to say whether the list is complete, because the Nama very easily forget a sib or family which has no representatives living.

The sibs are *!Khabiron; !Nuriris* (*extinct*); *//Nani≠nun; //Nani /Abon; /Hana !Gaon; //Naoba !Gorion; /Kobun; !Hoare-*

[9] L. c., vol. I, p. 72.

4: Hoernlé E-S (1912-1913)1925
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

sin; Gamadamin; //Gubu ≠Kurin; !Khoion; !Gubu ≠Kurin; //Khau ≠Nun; //Khau Tanasin; ≠Khari ≠Naman.[9] The chieftainship was held by the *//Nani /abon*, the red *//Nanin*. Whether the term Roni Natie, Red Nation, by which this tribe has always been called in Dutch, is derived from the name of this sib I do not know, but it may be. From the names of the sibs it is easy to see that there must have been many more sibs at one time. Thus, one sib is called the small *//Gubun* which makes it likely that there was at least one other *//Gubun* sib from which it had to be distinguished. Another sib is the small *!Gubun*, and so on. It will be noticed that there are two sibs called *//Khaunun*, the *//Khau Tanasin* and the *//Khau ≠Nun*, while the whole tribe is called *//Khaunun Gein or Gei //Khaunun*. One of these sibs, the *//Khau Tanasin*, is the same as we found among the Swartbooi, while the Swartbooi tribal name is taken from this same sib name, the *//Khaunun /Goan*. The tradition of these two tribes, therefore, that they are originally one tribe, is corroborated by the evidence from the sib structure.[9]

The *//Habobes* tribe is also broken up and scattered now. I have never lived among this tribe and have had to gather my information concerning it from chance individuals living in other tribes. In 1913 I visited a very old man of this tribe in the Windhoek gaol. He had been the chief adviser of the chief who had also been in prison but who had died. Unfortunately, the old man's memory was failing and I cannot be sure that the information from him is complete. The sibs, so far as I have them, are as follows: */Haoan; Dau Gein; !Amun; Garsin; Ouris*. The *Ouris* was the sib in which the chieftainship was hereditary.

The remnants of the *!Khara Gei Khoin* are in the Kalahari desert, and none of the men I have met in the Protectorate have been able to give me any information concerning their old tribal structure. At the present day all these people have Dutch names.

The *!Gami ≠Nun*, though one of the old aboriginal tribes, have lived for so long on one of the highways into the Protectorate

[9] Seven of these sibs are mentioned by the first missionary to the Roni Natie, Vollmer; cf. Rheinischer Missionsbericht, 1866, p. 277.

4: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1925
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

that they have been very much exposed to incoming influences. To-day they have all Dutch surnames. I have, however, been able to collect some of the old Nama names which were in use before the European surnames came into common use. The chief's sib has now the surname Christian, and they call themselves the *!Gami ǂNun*. The Matroo family have the Nama name *Tsâubêe*. The Aprils are the *!Noesie*. The Hackshind family takes its Dutch name from a translation of the old Nama name *!Noesie* (*!Noes*=the head). Another sib is called the *!Nuubêe*; a third the */Nabasie*, another the */Ariman*, who to-day also have the surname Christian. In giving me these names the old headman, Christian, gave me the fountains in the Bondelswart territory which were known as the headquarters of these different sibs.

The Oriam tribes, that is, the tribes who came into the territory from the south, have all surnames taken from Europeans, such as the Isaacs, the Goliaths, the Christians, the Hendricks, and I have found it impossible to get their old Nama sib names from them. In the *Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft*, Band 15, 1901, however, there is an account of the sibs of the /Hobesin, given by the then Bezirkshauptmann von Burgsdorff in answer to a questionnaire sent out by Dr. Kohler. According to him there were seven sibs among the /Hobesin:

1) */Khauun* (families: Witbooïs, Dragoners, Hanses, Kaisers).
2) *!Amin* (Isaacs, Gertses, Zals, Banks, Vishers).
3) *Dausaw* (Jods, Classens, Stewes, Sewis, Jahrs).
4) *!Nawesen* (Jantses).
5) */Khawen* (Piqueurs, Marius).
6) *!Hawe ǂ*Nun (Romans, Jacobs, Links).
7) */Khwin* (Pitters, Fredericks, Jochems, Links).

This evidence from the Witbooïs is sufficient to show that the structure of these tribes from the south was essentially the same as that of the tribes of the Great Namaqua.

The families claiming to belong to a sib still tend to live together, though the old original camping order has long been given up. Information from many sources, however, enables one to reconstruct the old encampment, and this reconstruction agrees

4: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1925
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

with information given to us by the early travellers among the Hottentots. [36]

In the old days a Nama encampment was in the form of a great circle. The whole was enclosed with a great fence of thorn in which there were two gateways, one to the north, the other to the south. Within this fence, round the circumference, were the huts of the *!Haos*, or tribe. There might on certain occasions be a whole tribe encamped in such a manner, and, in any case, there were usually some representatives of each of the sibs at the chief's headquarters, though there might be other encampments in other parts of the tribal territory. In the great open space in the centre the cattle were herded at night. Special kraals were made for the calves and the lambs, but neither now nor in the past did the Hottentots make kraals for the cattle or the sheep. These animals just lie in front of the owner's hut for the night.

The following is the order in which the sibs of the Swartbooi camped. In the western portion of the circle stood the huts of the chief's sib, facing east. On his left, as one faces east, came in order the *!Oa Gaos*, the *//Noigamas*, the *!Garanin*, the */Gari Karin*, the *!Noise ein*. On his right in order came the *Gaamas*, the *//Khow Tamaras*, the */Gari Gein*, and the *!Ga oi Tamaras*, meeting the *!Noise ein* in the east of the circle. The Topnaars encamped in the order *//Horaibin Gein*, *//Horaibin /Goas*, *!Naraban*, */Ubanas*, */Hoibin*, starting from the *//Horaibin Gein* in the west and continuing round the circle to the left. [621] [624]

Through the whole course of Nama history the sib was the strongest social unit the Nama ever attained. Time and time again a strong sib would go off on its own, asserting its independence of the others, and sib loyalty was always stronger than tribal loyalty. It is no wonder, then, that the chief among the Hottentots was little more than *primus inter pares*. He was acknowledged to be the head of the senior sib and, if a person of fine character, was accorded a great deal of respect, but the heads of the other sibs acted as his council and he could not do much without their coöperation. The whole conduct of affairs, then, in a Nama tribe was, and is, the concern of the older men of the tribe. [622] [623]

4: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1925
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

The sib loyalty was very strong. Members of a sib all considered themselves to be blood relatives, and marriage in the sib was strictly forbidden. Nowadays, these rules are broken but the older men still shake their heads over the marriages of the younger generation.

Membership of a sib guaranteed to a person a very strong measure of protection, for he could always count on the support of his fellow sib members. We know from accounts left to us by travellers among the Nama in the early part of last century that at that time the vendetta was still in full force among them; that is, the chief was unable in the interests of the whole people to prevent two sibs from carrying out revenge one on the other, or to force them to accept compensation. Sir James Alexander gives an account[20] of such a vendetta among the Boodeiswa'is when he was travelling among them in 1836, and in the Rhenish Mission Record for 1856 there is an account[21] of another vendetta at Bethany among the !Aman Hottentots.

Though the old camping order of the sibs has long been given up, the order of camping of the families within the sib is still maintained in many instances, and could be studied among the Swartbooie even in 1923. It has already been stated that among all the Hottentots all the sons of one woman are called by her big name, her *gri khoi /ons*, while all the daughters are similarly called after the *gri khoi /ons* of the father. In a settlement, therefore, we should expect to find the huts of a number of men called by the same name. This is exactly what we do find, and they are ranged in order of seniority, the eldest brother furthest to the right, the youngest furthest to the left, as we stand, facing outwards, at the doorway of any hut.

In the past the Hottentots were polygynists, but never to the same extent as the Bantu tribes around them. Nowadays they are ostensibly monogamists, but the standard of morals is extremely low among them. Each family has its own mat hut where the children remain until they marry. I have found a number of

[20] An Expedition of Discovery into the Interior of Africa, 2 vols., London, 1838; vol. I, p. 187; see also p. 211.

[21] *Loc. cit.*